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pate in the village council. The rare occasions when a woman does contest an issue with men are the subject of comment by both sexes: "And she was telling them what should be done, and she a woman, telling men! How could she know about it? It is the men who know those things." 562

Yet women are not relegated to an inferior position; they are never ordered about and are never servile toward men. The attitude of both sexes is simply that their duties and spheres of authority and influence are different. It is possible that this pattern is changing and that women will come to have more status in spheres now dominated by men. Increasingly women are working outside the home and so are becoming financially more independent of men. The tribal constitution does not disqualify women as voters, but no woman voted in the election by which it was approved. There are no positive prohibitions upon women's participation in political matters, but they have shown no interest in politics, although Papago society is sufficiently elastic to allow it. So far, however, the old customs hold, and the spheres of men and women have not converged to the same extent as in white society in the United States. 562 642

One other practice with regard to women should be mentioned. In the old days menstruating women were greatly feared. Their touch was thought to weaken a man and blight any project in which he was engaged. Women were obliged to segregate themselves each month in a hut built for the purpose, on pain of bringing supernatural punishment upon their families or on the whole village.[7] Segregation is not the rule in most parts of the Reservation today, but in some of the more conservative families it is still practiced. 841

In both the household and the village, approval of the group is the primary inducement to conformity with the patterns indicated above. Moral discussions and tales told by the older family members make clear to everyone that he is expected to fulfil his economic obligations to the family and to comply with the customs of the household. The person who fails to conform to these standards is made aware of the disapproval of others by criticism, ridicule, or denial of privileges. A big child who tries to sit on an aunt's lap is gently laughed or teased out of the notion. Involuntary exposure of the genitals brings ridicule by brothers and sisters until the child develops an acute sense of modesty. Quarrelsome children lose treasured privileges. Both young and old are sternly lectured by the eldest members of the household if they do not abide by its patterns. The same sanctions are applied by persons outside the family group. "People will talk" is an ever present and powerful inducement to live up to 626 867 626

7. A tale is told of a woman in a segregation hut who saw the approach of Apache raiders but who was so strongly imbued with the taboo that she would not leave her hut to warn the village.

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them in and did what they said." About 1925 half of the members split off into the League of Papago Chiefs, a group in opposition to the superintendent and the old League. The conflict rapidly became acute. Agency employees and other whites (including missionaries) supported one faction against the other. The opposition won out, and the superintendent was removed in 1929. The Papago say that the influence of this split still exists and that the two groups oppose each other to this day, though the two leagues have officially disappeared.

Another attempt at organization was made when three lawyers offered to represent the Papago in pressing certain claims against the United States. The Secretary of the Interior required that three Papago representatives be elected by a general council of the tribe and be authorized to sign the contract with the attorneys. Of the four men elected as officers of the General Papago Council, two came from the superintendent, and one had been neutral. All of them were boarding-school men from the southeastern part of the Reservation. The ensuing negotiations resulted in strife and factionalism among the Indians, for the rumor was circulated that the executive committee had promised the lawyers large sections of tribal land. Even near-by non-Papago towns were alarmed lest clear titles to their lands be impaired. When, at the recommendation of the lawyers, the Reservation was withdrawn from all types of mineral entry (restored with the Reorganization Act), there arose a real hue and cry from all sides. The attorneys' contract was not renewed in 1934, and most of the Agency personnel was transferred.[7]

When the new superintendent arrived in 1934, he saw the Reservation largely in economic terms and began to reorganize it to develop the cattle industry; his plans included systematic range management, grazing districts with fences, a cattle association, and an organization to provide for local self-government. In October, 1934, representatives from twenty-five villages met in Sells and signed an agreement with the government providing for some of the economic portions of this program.[8] The Indian Reorganization Act was accepted on December 15, 1934, and the Papago Tribe became legally a political unit.

To provide a basis for self-government, the Papago elected a committee of twenty men to draft a constitution. Only three of the western villages, however, participated in the elections, and five of the six-man committee which ironed out differences of opinion were *kokololoti* members of the southeastern

7. Account drawn from U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, *Annual Statistical Report, Sells Agency . . . , 1935*, pp. 35–37, and from personal inquiry.

8. The cattle association never materialized because of too strenuous opposition.

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666 642 dialect group. The people insisted that tribal law and custom should be the basis of the constitution. Some of the provisions based on white concepts, such as fenced districts, met with great opposition, but the constitution was finally ratified in 1936 by more than two to one, in an election in which about a third of those entitled to vote did so.

642 The constitution divided the main Reservation into nine districts, the small reservations at San Xavier and Gila Bend constituted two additional districts. Each of these districts was empowered to elect a council to provide local self-government; each district council in turn was to send two delegates to the tribal council, who should continue in office for two years or until recalled and replaced by the district council. District councils were formed shortly after the constitution was ratified, and the tribal council was set up soon after. It has functioned regularly ever since.

THE TRIBAL COUNCIL

646 642 The constitution provided that the welfare of the tribe as a whole should be in part the responsibility of the tribal council and that it should carry full responsibility for tribal business enterprises discussed in chapter iii: arts and crafts, the tribal fair and rodeo, loans, and the tribal herd. The tribe through its council has full rights of defining membership, administering tribal law with regard to members of the tribe, levying taxes, and handling its own monies. In all other spheres the superintendent of the Reservation has final authority, but conscientious efforts are made to introduce no program which has not been thoroughly discussed and agreed upon by the council. The majority of matters discussed in council meetings are brought up at the suggestion of the superintendent, but members know that their recommendations, objections, or suggestions will be carefully considered. If they defeat an Agency proposal, it may be brought up for further discussion at a later time, but their approval is essential to the success of any program.

As with any representative body, much of the value of the council's work depends upon the support of the general public. The system set up by the Papago constitution is actually a structure of white concepts of majority rule and representative government superimposed upon the old system of unanimous agreement in village councils. It will take time for the people to learn to manipulate this new political tool.

646 642 184 Generally speaking, it is the men from the eastern districts who are active in tribal politics; many of them have learned white concepts of government in boarding school. It is obvious that leadership remains in the hands of a few, though a quorum is always present at council meetings, and all members listen carefully

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to the discussions. The people as a whole have taken little part, and there are no sanctions to reinforce the status of delegates from many of the districts. So long as there is a leader who is vitally interested in having his district represented in the tribal council, the district organization remains alive; but, if the leader loses interest or leaves, it falls apart. There is no popular demand for representation in the council. The people do not have regular district meetings, and they delay elections long past the time specified in the constitution. All this is an indication of a political system in its infancy which is not yet an integral part of the life of the people.

Popular interest and organization have lagged particularly in the western districts. In Hickiwan there have been "progressive" men who were interested in tribal organization ever since the days of the Good Government League, but there was always fierce opposition from the conservative element, which rejected white institutions lock, stock, and barrel. The deadlock between the two factions continued for many years, and the bad feeling was augmented by a cattle feud between the leaders of the opposing parties. In the thirties a compromise was reached, whereby the two groups were separated in different villages. Between 1940 and 1943 two of the conservatives served sentences in federal prisons for assault with deadly weapons on Indian police, and three for refusal to comply with the Selective Service Act. With the removal of these men, opposition to Agency proposals and to the tribal council diminished; nevertheless, the Hickiwan delegates to the council who were elected at that time showed little interest in active organization of the district, and its participation in tribal matters was negligible. Gu Vo, the other western district, had no representatives at the council meetings for two years preceding the present study.

Despite all these handicaps, the council has to its credit a number of real achievements. The tribal herd has helped to improve Reservation cattle, and the various other tribal enterprises have been successful. The method of financing these projects—a 3 per cent tax on all livestock sales by private owners—met with strong opposition at first, but the council's resolute stand on the matter indicates that the members are beginning to feel their responsibilities and that they may become a real power on the Reservation. Recent council activity in planning for the adjustment of returned soldiers and post-war economic developments points in the same direction. Much will depend on the quality of leadership: if the council continues constructive and forceful action instead of degenerating into a group of Agency "yes-men," the tribe may unite in backing up the council. Much will depend too on the policy of future superintendents. The Papago are independent, and they do not like to

middle 1930's under the influence of John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs. His program, in part, was embodied in the Indian Reorganization Act, which contained specific provisions for the preservation of Indian land holdings and the assumption by Indians of some measure of control over their own resources; authorization for the establishment of tribal self-government and federally chartered tribal business corporations; and the establishment of a revolving loan fund for economic development purposes. The intention was to solve Indian social and economic problems through the development of Indian initiative, but it was a "boot strap" program unsupported by necessary governmental appropriations for the training of Indian leaders and the development of Indian organizations, not to mention inadequate appropriations for education, health services, resources development, and routine administrative services. In the case of the Papago, among many other tribes, the program also lacked effectiveness because the majority of individual Indians were not yet committed to any major changes in their way of life. 175 657 [185]

Under the provisions of the Act, Papago Indians living on the main reservation and on the reservations at San Xavier and Gila Bend, joined together to form a single tribal government with headquarters at Sells. The tribal constitution and by-laws, however, provided for an important degree of local autonomy under a system of district councils with each district having two members on the tribal council. 175 642 [631]